/144 cont./

551 the civilized, who, they can be sure, already at the first pres-
*[192] entation, receive a nickname, which will be propagated with incredible speed (8).

8. They told us of some of these nicknames: one they called sõ̃gõ, vermilion, because of his color; another, subĺ, curled, because he had curly hair; a third one, uxpĺka-ro, crooked teeth; a fourth one, o'mẽpero-ro, big ears; a fifth one, waú, the uáia-piçá monkey; a sixth one, õxsó-boekhõ, arrow of alligator (because of being tall and thin), etc. Koch Grũnberg (Zwei Jahre, p. 206) tells that they nicknamed him Wãx'tĺ (see VII-4, d (5)), because of the beard (?), and his companion Schmidt, nõ'myó-axké, monkey-woman.

6) Curiosity.

153 Endowed with great curiosity, he wants to learn from any
• 203 civilized person to whom he is introduced who he is, what his name is, where he comes from, where he is headed, what he came to do, what his nationality is; and they ask their tribal brothers who are accompanying the unknown visitor a thousand
[797] other questions. An Indian is apt to make a long and uncomfortable journey in order to tell those of another povoado an episode that happened, the visit of a new missionary, etc. (9).

9. In July of 1956 His Excellency the Coadjutor Bishop of the Prelacy of the Rio Negro, Dom José Domitrovitsch, decided to surprise the missionaries of Parĺ-cachoeira (river Tiquié), and he was covering the 300 kilometers that separate Parĺ from Taracuá with a small motorboat. He stayed overnight in the povoado of S. João, about 30 kilometers from the Mission. An Indian, in the middle of the night, set out

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/footnote 9 cont./ traveling in his canoe and at six o'clock in the morning informed the Missionaries of the visit of the Bishop, who is festively received at the Mission two hours later. Humorously one says that in these latitudes there is not yet wireless telegraph, but the communication system of radio-cipó is well developed.

153 If one opens a suitcase, a book, a notebook, the Indian's eye does not leave these objects. And many times he wants to have a more practical and complete knowledge, approaching them, touching them, and /145/ observing them in all their aspects. And not rarely subjecting them to observation by all the senses: he touches, smells, bites. The civilized man realizes that he is being furtively touched on his clothes, or even on the hand, by the children and even by the women. We were not able to verify whether in this gesture some magic concept might also enter.

When he hears Portuguese being spoken, if he does not understand it, he likes to repeat the sounds that he heard, pronouncing them several times, as if to engrave them in his memory.

7) Distrust.

829 Conversely, he does not like to be observed. If he perceives that he is, he withdraws. He answers the civilized laconically, going away as soon as possible, in order to avoid a new question; or he will leave without answering. He spends entire hours of travel in silence in a canoe when he travels alone with some civilized man, or even when he travels with others from the tribe, but in the presence of a "white." It is the mistrust (10)

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10. We were lucky in getting Indians of both sexes, from diverse tribes and in different localities, to unbosom themselves confidentially

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/footnote 3 cont./ of a man, monkey, and decorative ones, still fresh, perhaps made weeks or days before. He then gives the opinion that an Indian makes the first stroke with some rock. Another, upon going by, makes the line deeper, and so on, until an indelible furrow results (Z. I. 144). The same Koch asked an Indian who served him as guide on the river Cuduiarí who might have made the petroglyphs that were seen. And the Indian answered him immediately: -- "The old people did with a rock" (Z. I. 304).

• 203 Would they not, however, have a language for signs or signs corresponding to some ideas? Many travelers who have gone up the Rio Negro were surprised to verify that their coming was already known beforehand, how many made up the retinue, the purpose of the latter, etc. (4).

4. We read, for example, in the "Participação Quinta /Fifth Communication/" (of the "Viagem Philosophica" of Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, dated from Barcelos on March 30, 1789, upon his arrival in Ipanuré): -- "I immediately ordered an examination of the five malocas of the savages, located on top of the hill, and for the second time it was confirmed to me that they had already been warned of my ascent; the houses were found deserted, there being left behind all the gear of igaçabas /clay pots/, tipitis, hampers, etc., sufficient tapioca buried in the ground, the pineapples of the clearing freshly cut, and the Indians of the canoes informed me that they had left two days ago" (o. c.).

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• 203 It is reported to us that many times such information was furnished by word of mouth by Indians who went up faster, by way of igarapés and shortcuts, and one maloca undertook to send the news to the next maloca (cf. V, Note 9, about the curiosity of the natives).

/255/ One of the principal means for these long-distance communications, however, was the Trocano, Twá-tõ, almost completely gone today, an instrument, moreover, without religious character and used only for social relations by the tuxáua.

202 [192] 198

It is a teleresonator consisting of a trunk of hard wood suspended by cipos to four stakes and hollowed by means of a narrow longitudinal cleft. Struck on the edge of the cleft with a wooden mallet, Twá-tõ pá-kõ, with a projection of rubber or of anta hide, it emits a deep sound, which, in the solitude of those forests and with the help of the winds, is heard many kilometers away (5).

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5. Koch G. (Z. I. 171) tells that from Cucura-igarapé (one hour by canoe above S. José, river Tiquié) the Desana got in contact with the Tukano of Pari-cachoeira (cf. III, the Povoados) by means of the trocano.

[184] Each tribe or maloca had its instrument and its conventional signals. With this instrument the tuxauas communicated the date and offered invitations for the caxiris. With the trocanos, moreover, they would give information about the retinues that were coming up the rivers (6).

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6. Information by Plácido Rodrigues, descendant of the Baré. Cf. also "Notas sôbre os Trocanos /Notes about the Trocanos/," by Carlos Drummond, Boletim 58 of the Univ. de São Paulo. Koch G. (Z. I. 393) tells that among

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574 the guests arrive they are asked to drink from the chicha prepared
[554] by each cosponsor. Those who do not choose to be cosponsors help in inconspicuous ways. There is honor in being a cosponsor but no competition for the privilege either. A household head feels free to decide when he desires cosponsorship. Those who have the most manioc to spare accept cosponsorship most freely. Major drinking parties are always sponsored by the headman, but smaller parties that bring together only close sibs may be offered in the name of a household head who wants the honor. The headman paternalistically defers to this. Some drinking parties are announced as being sponsored by a group of brothers. Of course if there is a special occasion
[562] the household head most closely concerned is expected to be a main sponsor. Women do not sponsor or cosponsor drinking parties ex-
[182] cept for the father's sister, who as widow or divorcée living in her own sib has the status of a household head. The Cubeo use drinking party sponsorship as a means of dealing with the minor frictions of community life, for cosponsors, by the symbolic act of doing something together, have reaffirmed their closeness. On a larger scale, attendance at drinking parties serves the same function.

574 The guest list provokes much discussion and entails in a sense
614 a review of the sib's relations with its fellow sibs. An invitation may
● 203 help achieve a reconciliation or it might yield only a humiliating rebuff. Invitations will be delivered in person, by the headman and by all cosponsors, the headman undertaking the downstream higher-status sibs, the others the upstream lower-ranking sibs. The proper time to deliver an invitation is six days before the event. The host delivers the invitation in a chanting tone during which he does not look at the guest but over his shoulder, and the guest replies in the
[201] same manner. The host holds up his hands, palms out and thumbs together. When the thumb of the right hand meets the thumb of the left hand it means there will be drinking. Holding two thumbs together is also a jesting sign, meaning, "Now we are going to drink." The four fingers of the right hand mean days of work, and the right-hand thumb means a day of very heavy preparation. The invitation means, then, "We are going to be very active for five days. On the sixth we shall drink."

574 One principle of Cubeo social structure is that whatever is accom-
614 plished on a multisib scale must have its counterpart on the smaller community scale in which household stands for sib. Thus, the five preparatory days are all small drinking parties within the sib so calibrated by degree of festivity – drinking, taking coca, singing, smoking – that each day the festive atmosphere is heightened, so that

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ing the early stages. In the later stages, after the drink, the narcotics, and the general excitement have taken effect, the sib units disintegrate, so to speak, and the entire gathering becomes one generalized melee of phratry mates. The Cubeo do not call attention to the symbolic significance of the merger of sib identities; but that a mixing of the sibs is a desired result seems evident enough to an observer. For as long as the sibs maintain their separateness the mood of the *óyne* is solemn and decorous. The point of mixing is also the point of desired disorder. As a unit each guest sib is responsible for preparing a number of masks (as well as other ceremonial objects) and for representing them in song and dance. To my knowledge a sib has no fixed prerogative to a particular mask or group of masks. It is free to make any it chooses. Presumably there are preferences, although when the host issues the invitations to the *óyne*, he or his messenger negotiates the masks that each sib is to prepare. If the purpose of the negotiation is to ensure that all the mask beings will be represented, that purpose is not always fulfilled. However, if a mask is not present, the spirit being it represents can still be enacted by the appropriate song and dance, for while the Cubeo do believe that a mask has a particular character they are not dogmatic about it. Masks and spirit beings are interchangeable.

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The masked dances follow neither a precisely fixed sequence nor a precisely patterned ensemble, although they do follow a general order that is familiar to all. Since the principal sequence is one of mounting emotional intensity, it follows a natural course as the ceremony proceeds. The dance groups respond to one another. An ensemble is formed more or less spontaneously as one group of dancers stimulates others to join it. In the same way, the emotional level set by one group of dancers influences all others who follow.

MYTHOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE *ÓYNE*

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The Cubeo tradition of the *óyne* is as follows. There was a time when people did not die and there were then very many people. One morning a boy followed his sister into her manioc garden and copulated with her. In the afternoon the girl returned home and told what her brother had done. The people beat the boy and drove him out. He wandered about in the forest for three months feeling ashamed. He could find nothing to eat and so he returned home very thin. He entered the maloca and, speaking to no one, lay down in his hammock and died. His own people did not mourn him but said,